

THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

VOLUME III.

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PAUL SEYMOUR,
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ADDRESS OF HON. J. R. UNDERWOOD.

FELLOW CITIZENS: I feel a deep sense of gratitude to the people of Kentucky, and especially to those residing in the Green River section of the State. Raised in the adjoining county of Warren, educated by a charitable uncle, and starting in life with the strongest professional competition, I have been sustained in a most confident and encouraging manner. I have been advanced from poverty to competency, if not to wealth. During the last thirty-three years I have been almost constantly employed in some high public station; and I now hold an office which, in dignity and importance, approximates the highest known to our constitution and laws. I refer to these things in no spirit of boasting, but to prove that I am not grateful without cause, and that I ought to be strongly attached to the institutions of my country, which have enabled me to rise from a very humble to a highly exalted position—a position from which, I am told, I shall probably be instructed to retire in consequence of opinions I have long entertained and which upon this occasion I mean to express with the utmost candor.

In 1838 the people by an overwhelming majority decided against calling a convention. In 1847 and 1848 they determined in favor of a convention by majorities equally decisive. It is needless to demonstrate that this change was the result of party tactics, seeking advantage over political adversaries. No matter what has brought it about, we are to have a convention; and the great questions now are, what changes shall we make in our present form of Government? what new principles ought we to introduce?

To make a new Government and introduce important changes in the old system, under whose operations we have been long secured in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property, and every civil, religious, and political privilege, involve the highest responsibilities. In the great work, so pregnant with good and evil, every citizen must feel an intense interest. It is not my purpose, however, to enter at large upon the consideration of every subject upon which the convention must act. To do so would be to make a speech tedious beyond endurance. My principal object is to present and defend my opinions on the subject of slavery.

I believe that slavery as it exists among us is a great evil—wrong in its origin—injurious in its continuance to both races, white and black—and that it ought to be terminated.

There are but few who justify the original importation of negroes and making them slaves. But there are many who, regarding the institution as having been forced by the policy of Great Britain upon our colonial ancestors, are now opposed to any change, believing the perpetuation of the institution more advantageous to both master and slave than any new order of things which human wisdom can devise and accomplish. The argument which maintains that slavery is right in its origin, is founded upon the hypothesis that, as ignorant, savage, and unchristian people are made more intelligent, more humane, more moral, and imbued with a knowledge of the true God, by being brought under the control and dominion of civilized and christian nations, therefore, to advance the improvement and happiness of the weak, the barbarous, and unchristian men or tribe, the strong, the civilized, and christian community may rightfully reduce the individual or tribe to slavery. Suppose we concede that this argument is well founded, and that intelligence and christianity, combined with power, may of right seize the subjects or citizens of a weak or savage tribe or nation, and carry them off into perpetual bondage; should we not then inquire how the tribunal is to be organized which shall decide what nations of the earth are civilized, intelligent, moral, and christian; and how commissions may be obtained by those justifying them to invade the territories of the feeble, barbarous, and unchristian, and to make slaves of them? Is it not impossible to constitute such a tribunal? What nation or people on earth would submit to its decrees, if it were established and attempted to exercise jurisdiction? In times past, the Popes of Rome have, I believe, arrogated authority to dispose of heathen savage nations and their people, according to the pleasure of His Holiness. But the people thus given and granted to a master have never recognized the right of the Pope. From the impossibility of establishing a tribunal among men and nations clothed with authority to decide who shall be masters and who slaves, and to secure acquiescence and submission to the awards of such tribunal, it is manifest that there can be no harmony, no general understanding by which the people of the earth can be thrown into classes, of masters on the one side and slaves on the other and made to sustain such relations to each other, without violence. A state of slavery is, therefore, nothing short of a state of hostility between opposing phalanxes, where one side has surrendered at discretion, but unceasingly seeks for an opportunity to regain its original position. It is impossible to reconcile the slave and teach him to love his condition.

The constitution and laws of the United States indicate a strong national sentiment against slavery in its origin. Our revolutionary fathers, in framing the Federal Constitution, vested Congress with power to prohibit the importation of slaves from the 1st of January, 1808. This constitutional provision was carried into effect by an act approved 22 March 1807. This act forfeited to the United States all vessels fitted out for the purpose of engaging in the slave trade, and imposed a fine of \$20,000 upon the individual who should engage in fitting out any such vessel. It also imposed a fine of not less than \$1,000 nor more than \$10,000, and imprisonment not less than five nor more than ten years, for taking on board any vessel so fitted out and sailing from the coast of Africa and

transporting and selling him in the United States as a slave. By an act approved —, 1820, Congress made the foreign slave trade piracy, and imposed the punishment of death upon those who might engage in it. Washington signed and approved the Constitution as President of the Convention, and afterwards liberated all his slaves. Jefferson (who, in reference to slavery, said "the trembled for his country when he remembered that God was just,") signed and approved the act prohibiting the further importation of slaves. Monroe signed and approved the act denouncing the slave trade as piracy. Am I to be condemned for entertaining sentiments like those upon which these fathers of the republic have acted?

Our colonial ancestors protested against the conduct of the mother country in forcing the African slave trade upon us. If their sense of justice had tolerated the slaves of them, why did they not attack the Indians and convert every captured squaw and her children into slaves through successive generations? The best title in a slave, in the origin of the institution, is founded on the rights of war, and yet through all our Indian wars, so far as I am informed, at no period of our history has any one seriously proposed to make slaves of Indian captives. Why this difference between the negro and the Indian? As barbarians, as uncivilized, unchristian people, they occupied the same condition of inferiority to the high-toned, civilized, christian Anglo-Saxons. If, for any of the reasons in vindication of slavery, it be just and righteous to make slaves of negroes, will not the same reason have equal force when applied to Indians? True, their skins are not so black as those of Africans, yet, if difference of color be any argument in favor of making slaves of the darker races, the contrast between the Indian and white man is sufficiently striking to justify the experiment. But surely the color of the skin does not favor slavery any more than the color of the eye. What would the world think if all persons with white eyes should congregate and seriously resolve to make slaves of every body who had black eyes?

One of the causes of war against Great Britain in 1812, was the violation of our flag on her part, by invading our ships, impressing our seamen and making them slaves. I say slaves, because to make a man fight or work on board a ship against his will is slavery more aggravated than that of forcing him to hoe or plow corn. Was there not as much justice, according to any code of morals, in the British practice of impressing our sailors as there is in enslaving the children of Africa?

But let us admit, for the argument, that it is the will of God, and therefore just, that heathen savages should be enslaved, so that christian masters may improve their condition. If that be conceded, does it not necessarily follow that it is equally just for the moral and religious part of the same community to enslave the immoral and irreligious citizens in order to improve their condition? Under this new doctrine of making slaves to improve people, may not a religious and christian majority say to the minority of Jews, Turks and infidels, "we will improve your faith by making you slaves to an infidel?" May not a like majority declare that editors and publishers should be enslaved by a board of censors, so that immoral and infidel publications might be suppressed and society thereby improved? What becomes of the right of conscience, the liberty of speech and of the press, or any other great and essential right to which man by nature is entitled, if the doctrine be true, that the intelligent, powerful and virtuous, may rightfully enslave the foolish, the weak, and the vicious for their improvement? In my judgment, the direct tendency of such a doctrine is the subversion of those fundamental principles of human liberty heretofore held sacred as the very basis of our republican institutions. If I could be induced at all to yield to this doctrine of the right to enslave for the purpose of improving, it would be with the qualification that, as soon as the barbarian of the desert had been civilized, and christianized in the school of slavery, and had paid by his labor a reasonable compensation to his benevolent and christian master for the tuition, then he should be permitted to resume the free exercise of all his improved faculties and regenerate nature. This qualification is no part of the doctrine. On the contrary, if I understand the pro-slavery creed, it is that the benefits conferred upon the race enslaved are so stupendous and magnificent that they are but poorly requited by perpetual servitude, generation after generation!

But I am wasting time and words. In this age of the world and in this country, so enlightened in regard to the natural rights of all mankind, it would be impossible to establish the institution of slavery, were it now for the first time proposed. The question is not, shall we make slaves? But it is, what are we to do with slaves born and raised and accustomed to their degraded condition? These are very different questions.

After years of patient observation and consideration, I have become thoroughly convinced that slavery as it exists among us is prejudicial to the general happiness and interest of the people, injurious to our children, dangerous to our country, and immoral in its tendencies. I look upon it as an evil not beyond remedy; and therefore I am not willing to fold my arms and let it, cancer-like, run its course to consume its victim without a struggle to arrest it. Hence, as we are to construct a new Government, I think I owe it to my country, my children, and myself to insist upon some constitutional provision which shall point to its ultimate termination. For doing this I am to be denounced as an agitator, one who embroils society and stirs up strife. The political ocean is already white with foam. My object is to pour oil upon the troubled waters. I believe from this day forth there can be no calm until it is settled that slavery is not to exist forever in Kentucky.

If I am not mistaken in the signs of the times, the advocates for the perpetuation of slavery mean to accomplish their design and give permanency to the institution in the new constitution. So far as I understand the published platform of a portion of the pro-slavery party, they put forth the idea to the people that the constitutional provision on the subject of slavery, which they wished inserted in the new constitution was

to be identical with that in the old constitution. Furthermore, that the new constitution was to be subject to amendments proposed by the Legislature and ratified by the people, without the necessity of submitting the entire instrument to the action of another convention. With these provisions in the new constitution, those who desire to take the sense of the people upon the institution of slavery and its consequences forever saw that the door was open to them. But behold the change. I know pro-slavery candidates for the convention who are not now willing to incorporate in the new, precisely the same provision which the old constitution contains on the subject of slavery. I know pro-slavery candidates who are utterly opposed to amending the new constitution by permitting the Legislature to submit particular amendments for the ratification of the people. Look also at the action of the last Legislature. That body modified the law of 1833 prohibiting the importation of slaves in such manner as to make the modification almost equivalent to its repeal. It was done, I believe, without consulting the people upon the subject in the preceding canvass. By the census of the 1840 it was proved for the first time that our free white population had increased by a greater ratio than our slave population. This result was attributable, in a great degree, to the act of 1833. In 1840 our slave population was 182,258. In 1848, according to the 23d auditor's report, it had reached 192,470, showing an increase of only 10,222 in eight years. In 1840 our voters numbered 108,600, according to the ratio of the apportionment of representation. In 1848 they had increased to 139,612, showing a gain in eight years exceeding 31,000. We have no annual enumeration of free persons as we have of slaves, except of school children between the ages of 5 and 16. In 1844 our free white children between these ages numbered 160,834. In 1848 they reached 183,458, showing a gain of 22,624 in four years. These facts prove that we are destined to follow the States of Delaware and Maryland, where the slave population is fast receding and giving place to freemen. When the advocates of slavery become dissatisfied with their own platform of principles, and when they have destroyed the salutary operations of the act of 1833, when they have commenced the work of agitation by their own instability and the sudden destruction of the law restraining the importation of slaves, it is our duty to speak. Indeed, my friends, those who think as I do are bound to speak in self defense. We are constantly misrepresented. We are charged with designs and opinions to which we are totally opposed. There is, I have no doubt, some intentional misrepresentation with a view to render our positions odious with uninformed and prejudiced persons. But should our adversaries win a triumph by such unworthy means, it would be of short duration. He who is deceived by the trick, is always disgusted with the consequence, and loathes the deceiver. As examples of the misrepresentations of our views, I need only mention the efforts which some persons make to identify us with the abolitionists of the Phillips and Garrison, Abby Kelly and Lucretia Mott order; and the not less absurd charge that we intend to deprive owners of their slave property without making compensation.

What is that northern abolitionist impudently say? Is it that negro slaves should be forthwith liberated; vested with equal, civil, social, and political rights; and in all respects placed upon the same level with their former masters. This equality of privilege would allow intermarriage between the blacks and the whites, and send black and white voters to the polls together. Now, I do not know a citizen of Kentucky who is willing to organize our society upon any such basis. I have often made speeches to prove the absurdity of attempting, and the impossibility of accomplishing any such project. There are sympathies and antipathies in the social, just as there are attractions and repulsions in the natural world, which effectually prevent the commingling of two distinct races into the same social and political body. To attempt it, is to destroy all harmony and to war against nature. I am therefore altogether opposed to emancipation, unless it be connected with colonization.

But we are charged with intending to invade the sanctity of vested rights. There may be, for aught I know, persons in Kentucky, as well as in the Northern States, who deny that there can be any such thing as property in a human being, or vested right in the services of a slave. With all such, if there be any, I widely differ. What is it that creates a vested right? I answer: It is the act of our Creator which creates and vests us with all our natural rights; and the act of Government which creates and vests us with our civil and legal rights. But there may be a conflict between the rights thus derived. For example, God gives the right to defend ourselves and to redress our wrongs; and if men are thrown together without government, each may exercise this natural right derived from God as his reason and judgment shall require. But as soon as government is formed, whether it be done by arbitrary power or by the assent of the governed, this natural right of self-defense and self-redress may be taken away by the act of the government and legal rights substituted in place of it. The civil codes with which I am acquainted allow the right of self-defense to remain nearly as perfect as it exists by nature. But the natural right of self-redress is almost invariably superseded by a civil remedy. Thus the regulations and institutions of men may, and often do, put down and suppress the rights which God hath given to his creatures. Indeed, he has given to a maxim that when we enter the social state or submit to a government we surrender a part of our natural rights to the better to secure those we retain. Should any individual refuse to make the surrender voluntarily, he is constrained by force to give up, in whole or part, just as many of our natural rights as the laws of the society or government under which he lives require. Whether the surrender be voluntary or compulsory, does not effect the power which the government may exercise when it has been established. Can governments, then, in violation of natural justice, create a property in a human being? I answer affirmatively. But what is meant by property in man? Nothing more than the legal author-

ity to control the slave or servant and to appropriate the proceeds of his labor to the use of the master. Now let us look at some familiar cases and we shall see how the law secures the services of one human being to the use of another, and by so doing creates a property in the service, or, which is the same thing, in the man who is to perform the service. And as we examine these cases we shall find that some of them grow out of contracts voluntarily entered into (and these might be denominated voluntary slavery) but others grow out of the action of the government and are forced upon the person subject to such action irrespective of his volition.

The relation between father and child is the first to which I will call your attention. The law gives the father the legal right to control his son until he is twenty-one years old, and to appropriate his labor to the use of the father. Why this, until the child arrives at twenty-one, and no longer? Natural justice would decide that every child should be free, when by his services he has paid the father for his care, trouble, and expense of raising and educating, and when the child is so mature in judgment as to be capable of acting discreetly for himself. The father's trouble and expense vary according to circumstances. A finished classical education cannot be acquired by the son before he arrives at twenty-one years of age, unless he be endowed with extraordinary abilities. If the youth is kept at college during his minority he pays in services nothing to compensate his father. If he be put to work he may remunerate the father by the time he is nineteen or twenty and may then be sufficiently mature in judgment to act for himself. Yet the law is arbitrary. It makes no allowance for these varying circumstances. The child is free at twenty-one. Pastidious art might take offence were I to call the child a slave until he reached the age when the control of the father ceased according to law. But I do not wish ingenuitously to distinguish and point out a difference in the nature of the power conferred by law upon the parent to hold his child in service until he is twenty-one, and that which is conferred on the master to hold a negro slave for life, and the right in both cases to appropriate the service of the child and of the slave to the use of the parent and master is identical. All of it depends upon positive law, induced by the policy of the government, and the law may co-operate with or run counter to natural justice and right as circumstances vary. In this case the child is the involuntary (I will not say slave) servant of his father and made so by law.

The husband has the legal right to control his wife in many things. The master has no right to control his slave in everything. The husband has the legal right to appropriate the services of the wife to his use. The rights growing out of this relation, the dearest of earth, are vested by law and created by law. The servitude of the woman to the more of service, it may be called without offense, in this case, is commenced voluntarily, by contract, but when begun, the freedom of the woman is lost for life. The contract is indissoluble by the act of the parties. The law can only dissolve it. Here the law, in violation of natural right, which allows contracts to be made and annulled at the pleasure of the contracting parties, regulates the marriage relation, and forces those who enter into it to continue in it and be its servants. The law causes an orphan to be bound to a master for a term of years, against the will of the orphan, and gives the master the right to control the person and appropriate the services to his own use. The law causes a vagrant to be arrested and sold, and gives the purchaser a right to control the person and appropriate the services to his own use. In the first of these cases, the servitude is involuntary and forced upon the subject of it without crime on his part. In the other case, it is also involuntary, but imposed to cure the disease and crime of idleness.

All governments impose upon their citizens, service, servitude, or slavery, the State being master, just as its wants and necessities require. The work or duty required is enforced by fines, by imprisonment, by stripes, or by death, just as the appropriate and authorized agents of the State determine to be expedient. The citizen is required to work upon a street or highway and put it in good order. He is not seized and marched out at the point of the bayonet, and forced to do the work, but he is fined for the failure. The citizen is required to perform a tour of duty in the army. The lot has fallen upon him by a fair draft. He refuses to join the regiment and obey orders. He may be forced into the ranks and shot for desertion or disobedience of orders. After being forced into the ranks, he may reluctantly obey orders and serve the term prescribed, but should he do it, it is a strong case of involuntary servitude or slavery—not by way of punishment for crime, but by way of patriotism as so regarded and identified with felony. A soldier or sailor voluntarily enlists. He may thereby incur for a term of years or for life, a servitude far more severe and intolerable than that imposed upon the negro slave. It depends upon the law and the contract he makes under it. He may subject himself to loss of wages, to imprisonment, to flogging, and loss of life in case he disobeys orders or fails to discharge the duties required by law. There cannot be a slavery more severe than the military and naval service of some countries, the ranks being often filled by impressment instead of contract. The penitentiaries of all our States are the receptacles of slaves—those who have been made slaves for a term of years or for life as a punishment for crimes. Now the difference is this. Where service, servitude, or slavery, (I care not what term is used to signify the thing) is voluntarily contracted or imposed by way of punishment for crime, or imposed for the manifest advantage of the individual or class, as in the case of the child, the apprentice, the pauper and the lunatic, we feel no repugnance to it—we see no reasons in its favor and we acquiesce in its propriety, but when slavery is imposed for the ease and comfort of the master alone, and when the physical, moral and intellectual wants of the slave are no further attended to and provided for than the pecuniary interests of the master require, then our sympathies are aroused,

our sense of justice violated, and we are, in the heat of enthusiasm, ready to set up the natural rights of mankind as paramount to the constitutions and laws adopted and enacted by men. This is the foundation of the notion that men cannot hold a property in men. It is an enthusiastic error. Sober, matter-of-fact reasoning finds property whenever and in whatsoever organized governments, capable of executing their mandates, declare it shall exist. Our State and our parent State have declared that there may be and is a property in negroes. The power of government has created that property, in violation of the natural rights of the negro, I admit, but, having done so, it would be a fraudulent act on the part of the government toward its citizens, to deprive them without compensation, of rights which have been enforced for two hundred years. The government has encouraged her citizens to vest their capital in slave property by assurances of protection, given in the constitution under which we now live. To violate the pledge in the Constitution about to be formed, would be an act of bad faith. The British government has paid millions of dollars (\$100,000,000, I believe) to compensate the owners of manumitted slaves. Even the Mexican government, in abolishing slavery, promised compensation, to the owners of the slaves. I never could consent to treat our slaveholders worse than England and Mexico treated theirs. As the law tolerates the citizen in vesting his capital in the purchase of slave property, I think the law should, out of fidelity and consistency to itself, guarantee the enjoyment of the property purchased, just as much as if it were a house or tract of land instead of a slave. I would not break up a menagerie of skunks, if created according to law, without making compensation to its owner.

Are we then to incur a debt of some sixty or seventy millions in order to rid the State of slavery? By no means. How, then, is slavery to be exterminated and the black and white races separated? I answer, masters will do it voluntarily or for a compensation which the slaves can pay, and that it can be done and ought to be done by colonizing the slaves in Africa. The advocates of slavery have denounced colonization as impracticable. The American Colonization Society has ascertained beyond all controversy that \$50 when chartering vessels is sufficient to transport a man to Africa, and maintain him until he can provide for himself. The hire of a healthy negro man and girl of seventeen or eighteen, one year, will take both to Liberia and maintain them until they can provide for themselves. These facts, of undeniable truth, establish the practicability of colonization beyond controversy. I do not intend to say that it is practicable to send the whole slave population of Kentucky to Africa in a body. I admit they cannot be marched off, as were the Cherokee Indians, to their new home. No such movement has ever entered the mind of any philanthropist. To make the plan successful, emigration must increase with the strength and growth of the settlements in Africa. Instead of sending out decrepit old age and helpless infancy to burthen the colony, we should only send young men and women. By sending young women as they reached the age of puberty, the sources of increase at home would be gradually dried up. I explained this fully and at large in a speech made nearly twenty years ago before the State Colonization Society at Frankfort. It is a work that ought not to be accomplished in less time than thirty or forty years. If it be systematically commenced and persevered in, it will put an end to the existence of our black population in Kentucky and transfer the race to Africa. The astonishing progress which Liberia has made, the daily developments of the unlimited capacity of Africa to receive and support the black population of the United States; the example of European colonization, by which hundreds of thousands of all ranks and conditions are annually thrown upon our shores; and the example of our own migratory population, traversing the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, almost without a dollar, have opened the eyes of the people to the practicability of colonizing the slaves, so that it no longer admits of serious question. The opponents of colonization, however, finding their objections no longer tenable, now contend that if the negroes were permitted to leave and carry off their earnings the process would drain our specie and impoverish the whole population left behind. This argument concedes the ability of the negroes by their own labor to colonize themselves, and thus proves that the only obstacle in the way is our unwillingness. The idea that we should be injured by the drain of our specie is entirely fallacious. The emigrating negroes would require very little money. Implements of husbandry, tools of mechanical trades, clothing and provisions, as experience in colonization has proved, would constitute the essential outfit. Their wages would be mostly expended for these things before their departure.

But suppose we were injured to some extent in the manner suggested. Is it not a law of trade that the precious metals and coins, like water, seek their level and flow to places where most needed? That law would soon return to us our just share of the currency of the world, and after the removal of the slaves we should be amply compensated for any temporary inconvenience by the advantages of free labor during succeeding ages.

We may speak in favor of slave labor, but the time rapidly approaches when in Kentucky it will be superseded by free labor. I have heard that under the burning sun of the cotton and sugar farms of the South and in the malaria of a rice plantation, the white man could not labor and live; and therefore, in the Southern States, negro slavery was not only a blessing, but a thing of indispensable necessity. If it be so, let them enjoy it. I have no right to judge for them. If there was not a slave in our State I should rigidly enforce the provisions of the constitution and surrender every fugitive slave who might be found amongst us. In our general climate, we know that the white man can and does labor, and that health is one of the rewards of his toil. We also know that without slaves more of us would be compelled to work for ourselves; and, in doing it, I think we should be greatly benefited in both

health of body and mind, and a large increase of our wealth. Man is prone to idleness when he can live on the labor of others. Idleness is the parent of bodily infirmities and mental sloth. It leads to dissipation and every calamity that "flesh is heir to." The free laborer is stimulated to industry and frugality by many strong motives which the slave never feels. The free man works with energy and good will, stimulated by the wages he is to receive, by the train of thought in regard to the disposal of them according to his own pleasure, and by the interest he has in keeping up a character for fidelity and industry, which will secure employment and good wages thereafter. No such motives operate upon the slave. His reward is just what the master pleases to bestow. He has no selection of food or raiment, quantity or quality. He does not dispose of the proceeds of his labor according to any plan of happiness he may conceive for himself, his wife, or his children. He has no wife nor children in the eyes of the law. But of that I must not, I cannot speak. The slave's strongest incentive to vigilance and industry is the fear of the lash. He knows that he is careless, idle, and thoughtless in relation to his business or the work assigned him. Nor is it at all surprising under such a state of things that so many slaveholders lose their estates and become bankrupts.

As the free laborer, in the same time, under the influences which operate upon him, does more work and does it better than the slave, and as free labor will become more abundant and more readily procured with the increase of our white population, the time rapidly approaches when employers will find it to their interest to hire free laborers instead of slaves. Indeed, I am inclined to think even now that it would be more profitable to the farmer to cultivate his farm by free labor. By consulting the census of 1840 I find, from the best estimate I am capable of making, that there is only about one-fifth part of our slave population able-bodied men between the ages of 17 and 50 years. The other four-fifths are composed of women and children, old men and boys. It is impossible, without more accurate statistical information, to ascertain what portion of those four-fifths are capable of supporting themselves by their labor, and in addition supplying something for the support of the helpless. Certain it is that the 65,244 children under 10 years of age, and 5,117 old men and women over 55 years of age, would require a considerable portion of the labor of the productive and working hands, for their support. Now, when the old and young, the lame and diseased, the helpless of all conditions of our slaves are supported; when the whole flock are fed and clothed; fire and lodging provided; medical bills and taxes paid out of the labor of the productive class, I believe there is less clear profit to our farmers upon the labor of their slaves, than there would be if they employed free labor altogether. And while free labor would be cheaper to the farmer, he could afford to pay higher wages to the laborer, because of his greater skill and diligence and the performance of a greater amount of labor in a given time. Indeed the former could dispense with a portion of the free laboring hands a great portion of the year. In case he owns slaves he must keep them and maintain them all the time. Certain it is, that I have known slaves to impoverish instead of enrich their owners. The value placed upon our slaves according to the auditor's report for the year 1848 is \$60,820,378. Interest on that sum amounts to \$3,645,222 per annum. The census of 1840 shows 55,776 male slaves between 10 and 55 years of age. There are not many more now, as our slave population has increased but little. How many are disabled by disease and accident we cannot tell. But if every one of them were hired by the year, each must bring on an average \$65 35 and a fraction to pay the interest. They would not bring it; for, besides those altogether worthless, there are boys between 10 and 17, and old men, between 50 and 55, numbering 17,513, who would bring but little. Slave females capable of laboring cannot more than support themselves and those of both sexes unable to labor. I state these facts to show that our slaves do not by their labor pay legal interest on their value. I leave every one to make his own figures with a view to ascertain how much free labor would be annually procured with \$3,645,222; if we had no slaves.

(Continued on Third Page)

Arrival of the Cambria.
St. John, N. B., Aug. 4.
The Cambria, Capt. Shannon, arrived at Halifax at 3 o'clock, A. M., and will be due at Boston at 6 o'clock on to-morrow. She brings Liverpool dates up to July 21. Parliament is to be prorogued on the 24th. During last week 333 deaths of cholera were reported in London, being more than double of the number of the previous week. Along the whole of the south coast it is raging very malignantly and mortality. At Liverpool the disease is rapidly increasing.

Ireland continues to be exempt from the scourge. On the 12th, a serious riot took place between the Orangemen and Catholics in the county of Down. The Orangemen having celebrated the day of Trelawney and being on their march, while passing a defile called Dolly's Grove, found their path way-laid, all the passes surrounded, hills occupied by immense numbers of Roman Catholics, provided with forks and fire-arms, and plainly contemplating a general massacre. The Orangemen, aided by a small party of police and military, stood upon their defence, and succeeded in forcing their way through the gap after a short struggle, in which 40 or 50 are said to have been killed on both sides, much the greater part being of the Roman Catholic body. 38 Ribbonmen had been taken prisoners. On Friday two medical gentlemen drove through the country round about the scene of contest, with the view of administering relief to those who were found, but they were refused admittance at every house where they called.

FRANCE.—The National announced that Prince Camille, the son of Lucien Bonaparte, and ex-President of the Roman Constituent Assembly, had been arrested at Orleans, by order of the Government, on his road to Versailles. It is said, that having a claim against his cousin, Louis Napoleon, for money lent in aid of his election, the Prince was coming to France to demand it, the conduct of his cousin against Rome having stirred up his ire. It was said that the Prince will not be imprisoned, but that he will be forced to embark for Europe or America.

The Pope has addressed an autograph letter to Oudinot on the occasion of receiving the keys of Rome. His Holiness congratulates the General on the triumph of order in Rome, and expresses his hope that Divine Providence will cease any difficulties that may still exist. He adds that he does not cease to direct his prayers to Heaven for the General, the city, and the French nation.—Cardinal Ruffini and the Marchese Cacciari arrived in Rome from Gaeta, on the 8th.
Propositions are making at Rome which leads to the belief that Pope IX. is expected to return with a Quirinal. The French are doing all they can in distributing money freely, to get up a cry in his favor, but in vain. Roman troops who had agreed in the first instance to do duty conjointly with the French, are all leaving, and the whole force now remaining amounts to less than 1000 men.
Garibaldi has succeeded in making his escape from the French Division, who were put upon a false scent, and he is now in the mountains of Abruzzi. Previous to his departure from Rome, he had secured assistance and military stores. Another account states that Garibaldi is on the Neapolitan frontier, where he has been joined by another body of troops, proving a body of 20,000 men.
Gen. Oudinot has dismissed all persons in office under the Neapolitan Government, and even under Pope IX. himself, and put in their place all persons whom he could find that held office under Gregory II.
A report of a victory over the Russians by Ben, is mentioned in the diplomatic circles in Paris. Also that the Hungarians had obtained further advantages before Ustinez.
An agent of Schleswig had arrived at Berlin, to protest against the armistice.
AUSTRIA.—From reports of Gen. Hayman, addressed to the Emperor of Austria, it appears that a very sharp conflict took place on the 11th before Cornaro, between the combined armies and the Magyars. The Hungarians fought fierce, but the Austrians claim the victory. Another account states that 180 pieces of cannon were brought into the field by the Hungarians, and that they were more complete than the defeat of the united Russian and Austrian armies under Hayman. He was obliged to fall back on Raab, which city is filled with wounded. He has been obliged to send 3000 to Presburg, and but for the timely arrival of Russian troops to cover his retreat, Hayman and his staff would have been captured. The Turkish Ambassador, announced that Gen. had completely defeated the Russians at Yanynsylvania, and that the latter had been obliged to take refuge in Wallachia.
GERMANY.—Several principalities and duchies have given in their adhesion to the treaty concluded on the 26th of May, between Prussia, Saxony and Hanover.
HAMBURG.—A decree of the Grand Duke proclaims the state of siege for a month.
Advices from Vienna to the 13th of July, state that Thuda and Preuth had surrendered to the Austrian and Russian troops on the 11th, without resistance.
SPAIN.—A steamer was driven off a precipice in the night, and deep duty, about six miles from the city, night before last. There were several persons in the vessel at the time; a young woman, was so seriously injured, that her life is despaired of.—St. Louis Union, 2d.

AGRICULTURAL.

New Indications in Agriculture.

BY DR. E. T. BALDWIN, OF WINCHESTER, VA.

MEANS. Editors of the Plough, Locomotive and Analyt.

The indications I have drawn from the practical facts which have passed under my personal observation, concerning the attention that has been directed to the subject of agriculture, differs so materially from the received opinions of the present day, that I have been induced to submit them for your consideration; under the hope and expectation that you will give them the attention which will correct them if they should prove to be erroneous. With this view, I shall state them in distinct, substantive propositions.

1st. It is not true that any plant which the farmer is interested in cultivating, derives its principal nutriment from the carbonic acid gas of the atmosphere. Although air is indispensable to vegetable as well as to animal life, it is equally true that no animal can live without food, and no plant exist in an impoverished soil without manure at the root.

2d. That the only food of plants known to the practical farmer is manure, or the residue of production.

3d. It is not true that different vegetable matters, during their growth, extract different fertilizing salts from the earth. For lands exhausted by constant cultivation in one kind of grain, will not produce a more remunerative crop of any other kind.

4th. It is not true that lands under cultivation cannot be made to preserve their natural fertility without manure; on the contrary, lands naturally poor, may be made exceedingly fertile without the addition of manure, of any kind whatever.

5th. There is no natural disintegration of the soil in a state of repose, and a formation of alkalies, unless its surface be covered with some substances or other. Exhausted lands, which remain uncovered, never improve in fertility by rest.

6th. The residue of the decomposition of vegetable substances, or the "ash of plants," is not manure. Nor can manure be made of any substance, without the aid of the putrefactive process.

7th. That the analytical investigations of learned chemists, totally disregarding the vital principle of life, have not promoted the interest of agriculture. On the contrary, diverting the attention of agriculturists from causal observations of the operations of nature, and the inductive reasonings drawn therefrom, have been decidedly injurious to its best interests.

8th. That shade is the best fertilizing agent; the putrefaction of organic matter from causal observations of the operations of nature, and the inductive reasonings drawn therefrom, have been decidedly injurious to its best interests.

9th. That the earth itself is capable of being converted into the best manure; to effect this, it is only necessary that it should be densely shaded. That is, it should be located favorably for the generation of the carbonic acid fermentation.

10th. That the fertility imparted to the soil is more permanent, when produced by shade, than from the application of any manure whatever.

11th. That every particle of earth, as it is naturally constituted, contains a portion of the fertilizing principle. The surface earth, or "mould," is fertilized either caused by shade and not the residue of vegetable decomposition.

12th. The difference in the fertility of the soil, in our native forest lands, arises solely from the circumstance of the surface soil being more or less densely shaded. Pine, which have no leaves, and white and red oak, which part with theirs so reluctantly, never leaves the surface fertile as those trees which drop their leaves with the first frost.

13th. Many plants do impart more fertility to the soil than they extract from it during their growth,—not in excrement, but by their shade.

14th. The natural provision of the renovation of worn out lands appears to be this:—That some plants, like some animals, require but little food; these thrive best on the poorest soils. Every practical farmer knows, that if additional fertility be given to the soil, they disappear almost magically.

15th. However industrious and energetic a farmer may be, he cannot exhaust his soil, and preserve its natural fertility by manures made on the farm. He attempts an impossibility and must fail.

16th. Through the agency of shade, every farmer may fertilize every acre of land which is able to cultivate. In this, consists the perfection of agriculture.

I most sincerely believe that these propositions may be abundantly sustained by facts, prominently before the observation of every agriculturalist. Yours, with respect, R. T. BALDWIN.

LITERARY EXAMINER.

Good Night.

FROM THE GERMAN OF PATER.

Dark is the night!
Yet stars are glittering through the cope of heaven;
The air is softly through the wandering trees;
And in the distance, unobscured by evil leaven,
All bright within the outward gloom can gleam.

With the sweet influence of the calm hour filled,
In its clear beam carrying its own heaven!
To all who have their day's work well fulfilled—
To them good night!

Still is the night!
All day's loud noise is hushed;
Weary and tearful eyelids own the calm;
And sleep is lulling in her soft domain
The throbbing heart with Heaven's own soothing balm.

To you for whom her shades descend in vain,
Whom care keeps watching, peace your care doth ban;
Soothed by the couch of sorrow and of pain—
To such good night!

Rich is the night!
Can man hope here for more?
When the dark night of trouble veils him round,
Thus in bright dreams to see heaven's open store,
And each warm wish by fancy crown'd?

To you for whom her shades descend in vain,
Whom care keeps watching, peace your care doth ban;
Soothed by the couch of sorrow and of pain—
To such good night!

When all the faint springs of night,
I have long beneath the lonely hill-top slept;
When they—the dearly loved—the deep well
Fate's bitter flood from thy fond arm hath swept;
Think, amid all the trials that assailed,
One eye, above the stars, its watch kept;
And watches still, good night!

A Boat Expedition down the Jordan.

A good deal of attention, scientific and otherwise, has of late been directed to the Holy Land and adjoining countries, many interesting points of geography and topography have been discussed, and among others, the depression of the Dead Sea, the level of which has been ascertained to be more than 1300 feet below that of the Mediterranean. The Sea of Tiberias also is reckoned as 84 feet below the latter level; the difference between the two lakes, which are 60 miles apart, being more than 1000 feet. This observation, made by the president of the Geographic Society in 1842, has elicited additional remarks and suggestions; and Dr. Robinson, in discussing it, states that in the distance traversed by rivers there is room for three cataraets, each equal in height to Niagara.

Some authorities affirm that the observations to determine the levels must have been incorrect; on the other hand, it has been shown by comparison with British rivers, that there is nothing extraordinary in the presumed fall. The Dee is a river which may be classed with the Jordan—from the Lion of Dee to the sea, 72 miles, the fall is 16 feet to the mile, and in this distance there are neither rapids nor cataraets. In the fall of the Tweed we have a nearly parallel illustration. The question, however, has been answered for the present in another way, an account of which appears in the last published part of the Geographic Society's Journal. Lieutenant Molyneux of the ship *Spartan*, left the vessel at Caiffa on the Bay of Acre towards the end of August, 1847, with three men, who had volunteered for the occasion and Toby, a dogman. The object was to transport the dingy (ship's smallest boat) on camels' backs overland to Tiberias, to proceed from thence down the Jordan to the Dead Sea, and return by way of Jerusalem and Jaffa, after examination of the course of the Jordan, as well as of the valley through which it flows, a d-peculiar, to measure the depth of the Dead Sea. The commander of the vessel offered every aid, and furnished his lieutenant with letters from and to the authorities of the country, so as to facilitate operations among the Bedouin tribes, from whom molestation was to be apprehended.

Four camels were provided for the boat and baggage, besides horses. After two days' travelling the party arrived at the top of the last ridge of hills overlooking the Lake of Tiberias and the valley of the Jordan, and enjoyed a most magnificent view. Jebel Sheikh, smothered in clouds, was distinctly seen; before us were the blue waters of Tiberias, surrounded by fine ranges of hills; to the left the white ruins of Sa ed, perched on a hill; and near the northern end of the lake a gap in the mountains, with a green patch, which pointed out the spot where the Jordan discharged its waters into Tiberias.

In descending the hills to the lake shore, the difficulties began. "By degrees," says Lieutenant Molyneux, "the road became so steep that we were obliged to hold the boat up by ropes, till at length we arrived at a point beyond which the camels could not proceed, and to return was impossible—the stones, when started, rolled to the bottom; the camels began to roar; then followed the usual trembling of the legs—the certain precursor of a fall; and, in short, to save the boat, it became necessary to cut the lashings, and let her slide down on her keel to the foot of the hill. There we again harnessed the unfortunate camels, and proceeded without further mishap to Tiberias, where, passing under the walls of the town, we pitched our tent within a few yards of the water."

After crossing the lake once or twice, and taking soundings and other observations, the boat was steered for the entrance of the river; and encompassing for the night on the bank, the party were visited by numbers of Arabs, who, after some persuasion, left them unmolested, but kept the travellers in a state of apprehension during the night, and again the next morning for several miles of the route. The true character of the stream soon became apparent, as the officer relates:—"Hitherto, for the short distance we had come, the river had been upwards of 100 feet broad and 4 or 5 feet deep; but the first turning after leaving the Arabs brought us to the remains of a large ruined bridge, the arches of which, having all fallen down, obstructed our passage. Here our difficulties commenced; and for seven hours that we travelled that day, we scarcely ever had sufficient water to swim the boat for 100 yards together. The Arabs hung on the skirts of the party, apparently with a view of turning any misadventure to account; and when villages were passed, the whole population turned out to look at the strangers. Sometimes the river spread out into shallow channels, in which the boat had to be unloaded, and carried over the obstructing rocks and bushes. The Ghor, or great Valley of the Jordan," is described as "about 8 or 9 miles broad; and this space is anything but a flat—nothing but a continuation of bare hills with yellow dried-up weeds, which look, when distant, like cornstubbles. These hills, however, sink into insignificance when compared to the ranges of mountains which enclose the Ghor; and it is, therefore, only by comparison that this

part of the Ghor is entitled to be called a valley." Besides other impediments, the river was obstructed by numerous weirs, built by the Arabs to divert the water into the frequent small channels cut for irrigating their fields. It was not easy to pass these weirs without a row, as the natives insisted on the gap made for the boat being built up again. In one instance the masonry was so high, and high that the boat had to be lifted over. In addition to this there were untimely respecting the cattle and baggage, which, writes Lieutenant Molyneux, "were frequently obliged to diverge to a considerable distance from the river; but a capital fellow that we hired at Tiberias as a guide assisted us greatly in overcoming all our difficulties." By and by a sheik and four Bedouins stopped the party, and demanded 600 piasters for a free passage across his territories; but after some altercation, a compromise was effected for a third of the sum.

In this way the travellers proceeded, opposed not only by natural obstacles, but by the fierce and rapacious character of the natives. In some places the river was so rocky and shallow, that it was found desirable to transfer the boat again for a time to the camels' backs. On this occasion, observes the Lieutenant—"From a hill over which our road lay I had a very fine view of the whole valley, with its many Arab encampments, all made of the common coarse black camel-hair cloth. Very large herds of camels were to be seen in every direction stalking about upon the apparently barren hills in search of food. The Jordan had split into two streams of about equal size shortly after leaving El Bokrah; and its winding course, looked like a gigantic serpent twisting down the valley. After forming an island of oval form, and about five or six miles in circumference, the two branches of the Jordan again unite immediately above an old cautiously formed bridge, marked in the map as Jisr Mejmeh. On encamping in the evening, an interesting instance of sagacity is recorded by the leader. "I was much interested," he writes, "during the night, in observing the extraordinary sagacity of the Arab mares, which are indeed beautiful creatures. The old sheik lay down to sleep, with his mare close to him, and twice during the evening she gave him notice of the approach of footsteps by walking round and round; and when that did not awaken him, she put her head down and neighed. The first party she notified were some stray camels, and the second some of our own party returning. The Bedouins generally ride with a halter only, except when they are in danger; and then, the moment they take their bridles from their saddle-bow, the mares turn their heads round, and open their mouths to receive the bit."

For the next few days, so frequent were the disputes with the Arabs, the bargainers with new escorts, that the lieutenant was "almost driven mad." Sometimes the Bedouins would go off in a body, thinking to frighten him into terms; but the party were well armed, and could command a certain degree of respect. So turbulent, too, was the river, that, as we are told, "it would be impossible to give any account of the various turnings," and the leader was obliged to ride continually between the boat and the baggage, to ascertain the relative position of each; a railway-whistle which he had with him proved very useful in making signals. The expedition, indeed, "was almost like moving an army in an enemy's country—not only looking out for positions where we could not be taken by surprise, but anxiously looking out also for supplying our commissariat." With the thermometer ranging from 83 to 110 degrees, this was no enviable task.

On the 30th of the month, it having been found impossible to satisfy the exorbitant demands of the Arabs, Lieut. Molyneux determined on proceeding without an escort; and after the place of rendezvous was reached by the mounted party, continues:—"We, as usual, stuck Toby's spear in the ground, with the ensign flying on it, as a sign for the boat to bring up, intending to proceed as soon as she arrived. The last time I had seen her was from the top of the western cliffs; she was then nearly abreast of us; and notwithstanding the windings of the river, as the water was good, and as she had four men to pull and one to steer (Grant, Lycomb, Winter, with the guide we had brought from Tiberias, and the man we had engaged by the road,) I expected her arrival in about an hour. The boat, however, did not arrive; and the Lieutenant, becoming anxious, sent out scouts to look for her, but they returned unsuccessful. Meantime he had taken up a secure position with his party, and eventually determined on going in search of the missing crew himself; but being ignorant of the language, Toby offered to go in his stead. The Lieutenant then pursues:—"After most anxiously awaiting his return for an hour, he came back full gallop to inform me that he had found the boat; that she had been attacked; and that he had learned this painful intelligence from the guide and the other Arab, who were now alone bringing her down the river. Forty or fifty men had collected on the banks on each side of the river, armed with muskets, and commenced their attack by throwing stones at the boat, and firing into the water close to her; and after they thus terrified the men, they all waded into the river, seized upon her, and dragged her to the shore. Lycomb, who drew a pistol, was knocked into the water by a blow of a stick; and having got the boat on the shore, they robbed the men of all their arms and ammunition, took their hats, and let them go. They also robbed the two Arabs of their arms, and of most of their clothes, and threatened to kill them, but let them off with a beating. This was all the intelligence we could obtain; and, as we were supposed, I was thus, destroyed by the recital of these melancholy facts. The guide and the other Arab had remained by the boat for half an hour, hoping that our men would return; but seeing nothing more of them, they concluded that they had endeavored to follow me, and accordingly they proceeded down the river with the boat."

The party were now in a critical position: surrounded on all sides by bands of notorious plunderers, and darkness coming on, added to which, anxiety as to the fate of the missing men, rendered the Lieutenant truly miserable. It seemed cruel to abandon them; but the only chance of safety and success lay in reaching Jericho as speedily as possible. The two natives who had brought the boat down were with much difficulty persuaded to take her on to the castle, and in case of the non-arrival of the party, to make their way from thence to Jerusalem, and report their position to the consul. The Lieutenant, with Toby and an old man as guide and driver of the animals, then set forward; and notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground, and at times of losing their way, reached Jericho, a distance of more than thirty miles, just at

sunrise. The letter from the Governor of Beirut was forthwith presented to the old Governor at the castle; and so well did the Lieutenant urge his case, that in a short time four well mounted soldiers, accompanied by the guide with refreshments, and a note for the sailors, were scouring the country in search of them. Meantime Lieutenant Molyneux rode over to Jerusalem, where, in company with the consul, he visited the Pasha, and obtained from him letters to two other pashas, directing them to send out men to the search, besides the soldiers to assist the officer in his own exploration, and accompany him afterwards to the Dead Sea. On returning to Jericho, the boat was found to have arrived; and the next day the district of country in which the outrage occurred was diligently explored, but without obtaining any tidings of the missing unfortunate; a result which, despite a hope that the men might have succeeded in reaching the coast, threw the Lieutenant into "a desponding and gloomy mood."

He determined, however, on accomplishing, if possible, the grand object of the expedition; and the *agha* (leader of the soldiers) was requested to be in readiness with his men the following morning. "At last," pursues the Lieutenant, "we reached the mouth of the river, where I was glad to find the boat floating on the sluggish waters of the Dead Sea. We had great difficulty in getting anywhere near the shore, on account of the marshy nature of the ground, several horses and mules having sunk up to their bodies in the mud; but at length we pitched the tent on a small patch of sand and sandy ground."

Two soldiers were left in charge of the tent, while the officer, with Toby and two men, an Arab and Greek, embarked. "We shoved off," he says, "just as it was falling dark, with only two oars, and with no one who had much idea of using them except myself, or any notion of boat-sailing. Under these circumstances, as I made sail and lost sight of the northern shore, I could not help feeling that I was embarked in a silly, if not a perilous undertaking. The breeze gradually freshened, till there was quite enough for such a little craft: we passed several patches of white frothy foam, and as the sea made an unusual noise, I was many times afraid that they were breakers."

Two days and nights were passed on the bosom of the dread lake: when the sun was up, the party were scorched by the heat, as though they were in a well heated oven; and on the second night they were chilled with cold winds, and the boat became so leaky as to add greatly to the risk. In some places the arid cliffs rise perpendicularly to the height of 1200 or 1500 feet, and only in one little gap was there any sign of vegetation; a drearier scene could scarcely be imagined. Soundings were taken three times, the deepest being 225 fathoms, and the least 178 fathoms, the lead brought up rock-salt, and dark-colored mud. "On the second day," continues the narrative, "at eleven o'clock, we got sight of the tent, and at twelve we reached the shore, quite done up, and thankful for having escaped, which none of us expected to do the night before. Everything in the boat was covered with a nasty slimy substance; iron was dreadfully corroded, and looked as if covered in patches with coal tar, and the effect of the salt spray upon ourselves, by lying upon the skin, and getting into the eyes, nose, and mouth, produced constant thirst and drowsiness, and took away all appetite."

As to the alleged destructive effect of the Dead Sea on birds flying over its surface, we killed some which were actually standing in the water; and on Saturday, while in the very centre of the sea, I three times saw ducks, or some other fowl, fly past us within shot. I saw no signs, however, of fish, or of any living thing in the water, although there were many shells on the beach. I must here mention a curious broad strip of foam which appeared to lie in a straight line, nearly north and south, throughout the whole length of the sea. It did not commence, as might be supposed, at the exit of the Jordan, but some miles to the westward, and it seemed to be constantly bubbling and in motion, like a stream that runs rapidly through a lake of still water, while nearly over this white track, during both the nights that we were on the water, we observed in the sky a white streak like a cloud, extending also in a straight line from north to south, and as far as the eye could reach."

Just after starting the next day to return to Jericho, the party saw a horseman at a distance galloping towards them, and at times firing a pistol; and we can sympathise with the leader's inexpressible delight that it proved to be the consul's jennizary, with a letter to tell me that the three lost men had reached Tiberias in safety; he brought me also a most kind letter from Capt. Symonds, enclosing a copy of the account that they had given him of their adventures. It would be a mere waste of words to state my joy at these tidings. The boat was carried back to the coast, and on the 12th of September Lieutenant Molyneux found himself once more on board the *Spartan*. And until more accurate information shall be obtained, we may consider that the question, as to the nature of the Jordan, is answered.

We wish we could close our narrative here; but it is necessary, however painful, to add, that since the above columns were commenced, intelligence has been received of the death of this gallant officer, which took place, through the combined effect of climate and over-exertion, soon after his return to the ship.

BULWER AND EUGENE ARAM.—A striking announcement is made by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, in his preface to the present edition of "Eugene Aram," the last volume completed of the beautiful edition of his works now publishing by Messrs. Chapman & Hall. The announcement will henceforth confirm the fame acquired by this noble romance, and will materially tend to elevate the already noble and lofty character of Eugene Aram. Says the author, "On going with mature judgment, over all the evidences on which Aram was condemned, I have, convinced myself, that although an accomplice in the robbery of Clarke, he was free from both the premeditated design, and the actual deed of murder." So thorough is the conviction of Sir Edward on this point, and so fully his conviction been corroborated, that he says, "In the murder itself he had no share, borne out by the opinion of many eminent lawyers, by whom I have heard the subject discussed, I have accordingly so shaped his confession to 'Walter.' This will be grateful news to those who, like ourselves, regard 'Eugene Aram' as one of the best, and certainly as one of the most moral of his productions."—*London paper.*

Good men are distinguished by various characteristics arising out of temperament, education, and circumstances, which impart great variety to the modes they adopt of accomplishing plans of life, and carrying out any important enterprise for the Church, for the country, or for the benefit of the whole world. In one man we see straightforward honesty of purpose, which thinks of no compromise, fears no results, and presses on to the right with an earnestness and perseverance which are almost sure to win success. This is the decided policy. With prudence in judging the right, and due regard to circumstances, such men are very apt to bend the opinions of others to theirs, and in the end succeed against all obstacles, in whatever they undertake. Many a man of ordinary capacity, by pursuing a course of this kind for years, has come to be thought a great man, and reached a position of standing and influence to which men of really higher powers aspire in vain. But there is another class of good men, who seem to have no opinion of their own about anything until they hear that of some one else; who desire above all things to avoid making themselves enemies, and would have all, of every shade of opinion, and every variety of sentiment, their friend; who fear to speak their own views decidedly, and modify their thoughts, and nothing off their expressions into such a convenient ambiguity, that they are much like the ancient oracles, whose dicta were sure to be applicable any how, no matter how events turned out. Such men to be sure, in some measure, avoid making enemies, but do they make for themselves decided lasting friends? Do they generally reach eminence? Are they generally successful in their undertakings? Have they the confidence of any body to such a degree as to be trusted with important interests? Do not men come to regard them as a sort of negation in society, neither a plus nor a minus, but a sort of smoothly round 0, well enough in its place, but which no body wants very much to do with? We call the policy of such men the temporising policy. They are time-servers. They say agreeable things to every body. Their object is to please. Duty relaxes in their hands. Language bends under their efforts to keep a good conscience, and yet not displease, or be contrary. They are a supple sort of compromising milk and water material, "ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth," ever striving after something, but scarcely ever attaining it, and when they do, it is by some indirect or accident. Such men are often frightened at their own shadow, and turned aside, after this habit has become fixed, if a spider weave his web across their path. What good do such men ever do in the world or the Church?—*Western Episcopalian.*

THE FIRST MARRIAGE.—Marriage is of a date prior to sin itself—the only relic of a paradise that is left us—one smile that God fell on the world's innocence, lingering and playing still upon its sacred visage. The first marriage was celebrated before God himself, who filled in his own person, the office of Guest, Witness and Priest. There stood the two godlike forms of innocence, fresh in the beauty of their unstained nature. The hallowed shades of the garden, and the green carpeted earth, smiled to look upon so divine a pair. The crystal waters flowed by, pure and transparent as they. The unblemished flowers breathed incense on the sacred air, answering to their upright love. An artless round of joy from all the vocal natures, was the hymn, a spontaneous nuptial harmony, such as a world in tune might yield, ere discord was invented. Religion blessed her two children thus, and led them forth into life, to begin her wondrous history. "The first religious scene they knew, was their own marriage before the Lord God." They learned to love him as the interpreter and sealer of their love to each other; and if they had continued in their uprightness, life would have been a form of wedded worship—a sacred mystery of spiritual oneness and communion. They did not continue. Curiosity triumphed over innocence. They tasted sin and knew it in their fall. Man is changed; man's heart and woman's are no longer what the first hearts were. Beauty is blighted. Love is debased. Sorrow and tears are in the world's cup. Sin has swept away all paradise matter, and the world is bowed under its curse. Still one thing remains as it was. God mercifully spared one token of the innocent world; and that the dearest, to be a symbol forever of the primal love.—And this is marriage. This one flower of Paradise is blooming yet in the desert of sin.—*Rev. Dr. Bushnell.*

All for the Best.

All's for the best; be sanguine and cheerful, Trouble and sorrow are friends in disguise; Nothing but folly gets us into misery and fear; Courage never is happy and wise; All for the best—if a man would but know it; Providence wishes us all to be best; This is no dream of the poet or priest; Heaven is gracious, and all's for the best.

All for the best; set this on your standard, Soldier of sadness, or pilgrim of love, Who to the shores of Despair may have wandered, Away, wearied swallow, or heart-stricken dove.

All for the best; be a man but confiding, Providence tenderly governs the rest; And the frail bark of his creature is guiding, Weely and warily, all for the best.

All for the best—then fling away terror, Meet all your fears and your foes in the van, And in the midst of your dangers or errors Trust like a child, while you strive like a man; All's for the best—unbiased, undoubted, Providence reigns from the East to the West, And by both wisdom and mercy surrounded, Hope and happy be that—All's for the best.

TURKISH GALLANTRY.—A Mexican, when you praise his horse, immediately replies that the horse is at your service, which means no more than when in this country you write to a man that you are his obedient, humble servant. A late Turkish ambassador in England, actually did what the Mexican phrase professes to do. When any lady happened to praise one of the handsome shawls that decorated his person, he immediately presented it to her. This led to a very general admiration of his excellency's shawls, and in consequence, to a very great diminution of the ambassador's wardrobe. At last, when his excellency's shawl was reduced to the one he wore, upon a lady's loudly expressing her admiration of its beauty, instead of his former reply, "Madam, it is at your service," he said, with Turkish composure, but with more than Turkish gallantry, "Madam, I am glad you like it; I shall wear it for your sake."

When an Indian maiden dies, her friends take a young bird which has just begun to try its power of song, and loading it with kisses and caresses, set it free over the grave, in the belief that it will neither fold its wings nor close its eyes until it has reached the "spirit land," and borne its message of affection to the loved and lost.

State of the Tonquin and her Adventurers.—The captain of the vessel, was a rash and choleric man—or, if these accounts represent him truly, a monster. Quarrels commenced as soon as the party got out to sea; and before the *Tonquin* reached the Oregon, Capt. Thorn had thrown overboard three or four men, including three of the most faithful, on a barren island—and cast away eight of his best seamen to inevitable death on the bar of the river. But justice comes to all men, as the ancients said: the death of this half-savage man is one of the most tragic on record. The story has been told by Washington Irving—in the interest of Capt. Thorn: now let us hear Mr. Ross's version. After disembarking the colony at the mouth of the Columbia, the *Tonquin* was voyaging still farther north, trailing along the coast.

Next day the Indians came off to trade in great numbers. On their coming alongside, the captain ordered the boarding-net to be put up round the ship, and would not allow more than ten on board at a time; but just as the trade had commenced, an Indian was detected cutting the boarding-netting with a knife in order to get on board. On being detected, he instantly jumped into one of the canoes which were alongside, and made his escape. The captain then, turning round, bade the chiefs to call him back. The chiefs smiled and said nothing, which irritated the captain, and he immediately laid hold of two of the chiefs, and threatened to hang them up unless they caused the delinquent to be brought back to be punished. The moment the chiefs were seized, all the Indians fled from the ship in consternation. The chiefs were kept on board all night with a guard over them. Food was offered them, but they would neither eat nor drink. Next day, however, the offender was brought to the ship and delivered up, when the captain ordered him to be stripped and tied up on the wharves for the insult received. Next day an Indian came to the ship, but in the afternoon an old chief came for Mr. McKay and myself to go to his lodge. We did so, and were very kindly treated. Mr. McKay was a great favorite among the Indians; and I have no doubt that the plot for destroying the ship was at this time fully arranged, and that it was intended, if possible, to save McKay's life in the general massacre. But not finding this practicable without the risk of discovery, he, as we shall soon learn, fell with the rest. When we were on shore, we saw the chiefs, and they seemed all in good humor, and asked me if the captain was still angry; and on being assured that they would be well treated and kindly received by him if they went on board, they appeared highly pleased, and promised to go and trade the following day. Mr. McKay was walking backwards and forwards on deck in rather a gloomy mood, and considerably excited; himself and the captain having, as he told me, had some angry words between them respecting the two chiefs who had been kept prisoners on board, which was solely against McKay's will. As soon as I got on deck he called me to him. "Well," said he, "are the Indians coming to trade to-day?" I said, "They are." "I wish they would not come," said he again; adding, "I am afraid there is an undercurrent at work. After the captain's late conduct to the chiefs, I do not like so sudden, so flattering a change. There is treachery in the case, or they differ from all other Indians I ever knew. I have told the captain so—I have also suggested that all hands should be on the alert when the Indians are here, but he ridicules the suggestion as groundless. So let him have his own way. McKay then asked me my opinion. I told him it would be well to have the netting up. He then bid me go to the captain, and I went; but before I could speak to him, he called out, "Well, Kay, are the Indians coming out to-day?" I said I thought so. He then asked are the chiefs in good humor yet? I said I never saw them in better humor. "I humbled the fellows a little; they'll not be so saucy now; and we'll get on much better," said the captain. At this moment McKay joined us, and repeated to the captain what he had just stated to me. The captain laughed; observing to McKay, "You pretend to know a great deal about the Indian character—you know nothing at all." And so the conversation dropped. Mr. McKay's anxiety and perturbation of mind was increased by the manner in which the captain treated his advice; and having, to all appearance, the presentation of what was brooding among the Indians, he refused going to breakfast that morning, put two pairs of pistols in his pockets, and sat down on the larboard side of the quarter-deck in a pensive mood. In a short time afterwards, the Indians began to flock about the ship, both men and women, in great crowds, with their furs; and certainly I myself thought there was not the least danger, particularly as the woman accompanied the men to trade, but I was surprised that the captain did not put the netting up. It was the first time I ever saw a ship trade there without adopting that precaution. As soon as the Indians arrived, the captain, relying no doubt on the appearance of McKay and the chiefs on shore, and wishing perhaps to stone for the insult he had offered the latter, flew from one extreme to the other, receiving them with open arms, and admitting them on board without reserve, and without the usual precautions. The trade went on briskly, and at the captain's own prices. The Indians throwing the goods received into the canoes, which were alongside, with the women in them; but in doing so, they managed to conceal their knives about their persons, which circumstance was noticed by one of the men aloft; then by myself, and we warned the captain of it; but he treated the suggestions, as usual, with a smile of contempt, and no more was said about it; but in a moment or two afterwards, the captain began to suspect something himself, and was in the act of calling Mr. McKay to him, when the Indians in an instant, raised the hideous yell of death, which echoed from stem to stern of the devoted ship, the women in the canoes immediately pushed off, and the massacre began. The conflict was bloody but short. The savages with their naked knives and horrid yells, rushed on the unsuspecting and defenceless whites, who were dispersed all over the ship, and in five minutes' time the vessel was their own. McKay was the first man who fell; he shot one Indian, but was instantly killed and thrown overboard, and so sudden was the surprise that the captain had scarcely time to draw from his pocket a clasp-knife, with which he defended himself desperately, killed two, and wounded several more, till at last he fell in the crowd. The last man I saw alive was Stephen Weeks, the armorer. In the midst of this carnage, I leapt overboard, and did several other Indians, and we were taken up by the women in the canoes, who were yelling, whooping and crying like so

many fiends about the ship; but before I had got two gun-shots from the ship, and not ten minutes after I had left her, she blew up in the air with a fearful explosion, filling the whole place with broken fragments and mutilated bodies. The sight was terrific and overwhelming. Weeks must have been the man who blew up the ship, and by that awful act of revenge, one hundred and seventy-five Indians perished, and some of the canoes, although at a great distance off, had a narrow escape. The melancholy and fatal catastrophe, spread desolation, lamentation and terror throughout the whole tribe. Scarcely anything belonging to the ship was saved by the Indians, and so terrifying was the effect, so awful the scene, when two other ships passed there soon after, that no Indian would venture to go near them.—*Ross's Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon and Columbia River.*

The Days of Old.

A curious instance of a lady availing herself, in 1540, of the right to appear by champion in a breach of promise marriage case, is mentioned in the memoirs of the Marquis de Vieilleville. The husband of Philippe de Montespoulet having died in Piedmont without issue, she was left a young, rich and beautiful widow, and was sought in marriage by several nobles. Amongst these was the Marquis de Saluces, to whose attentions she seemed to listen favorably, and she permitted him to accompany her from Turin to Paris. It turned out, however, that the sly dame merely wished to have the advantage of his escort on the journey; and when she arrived at her termination, she cavalierly dismissed him, saying, "Adieu, sir; your lodging is at the hotel des Ursins, and mine at the Augustins." The Marquis still persisted in his suit; but as Philippe continued obdurate, he asserted that she had made him a formal promise of marriage, and cited her to appear before the court of parliament. She came there, attended by a numerous company of friends, and, having been desired by the president to hold up her hand, she was asked whether she had ever promised marriage to the Marquis, who was then present in court. She answered upon her honor that she had not; and when the court proceeded to press her with further questions, she exclaimed with passionate warmth, "Gentlemen, I never was in a court of justice before; and this makes me fear that I may not answer properly. But to put a stop to all capricious cavilling and word-catching, I swear in the face of this assembly to God and the king—to God under pain of eternal damnation to my soul; and to the king under the penalty of loss of honor and life—that I have never given pledge or promise of marriage to the Marquis de Saluces, and what is more, that I never thought of such a thing in my life. And if there is any one who will assert the contrary, here is my chevalier, whom I offer to maintain my words, which he knows are entirely true, and uttered by the lips of a lady of honor, if ever there was one. And this I do, trusting in God, and my good right, that he will prove the plaintiff to be (begging the pardon of the court), a villainous liar." This spirited defiance caused no little sensation in the audience; and the president told the registrar that he might put his papers, for Madame la Maréchale had taken another and much shorter road to ward settling the dispute. Then addressing the marquis, he asked, "Well, sir, what say you to this challenge?" But the love, as well as the valor of the latter, was fast ebbing away; and the craven knight answered by a very decided negative. "I want not," said he, "to take a wife by force, and if she does not wish to have me, I do not wish to have her." And so, making a low obeisance to the court, he prudently retired, and the fair Philippe heard no more of his pretensions to her hand.—*Forsyth's Hor-tensius.*

A HOME TYRANT.—Fastidiousness is a dreadful weapon of domestic tyranny. Many a household can tell the grinding power of a selfishness which disguises itself under the form of delicacy of tastes and habits. Many are the tears of vexation, anxiety, mortification and disappointment, occasioned by the unfeeling temper and inconsiderate exactions which are the legitimate fruit of undue attention to personal comfort. One must be little observant of what is about him if he have not sometimes been driven by the ingenious requisitions of the self-indulgent, to wish that the hair-shirt, the pulse-and-writer, and the finny bed of the anchorite could be tried for the reformation of such. Providence seems often to discipline these people by increasing the sensitiveness they have voluntarily induced or cherished, until it becomes a tormenting want which nothing in nature is capable of allaying. They are crushed by the gods their own hands have set up.

THE COUCH OF JOSEPHINE.—In the *adulta penetralia* of the mansion—the dressing-room and bed-room of Lady Blessington—amidst crowds of costly and beautiful objects, there was one that was interesting from the association which surrounded it. At the further extremity of the inner apartment the eye was attracted to a superb bedstead, which reflected the rich blue satin hangings and fine muslin curtains with which it was decorated, in a large pier glass let into the wall behind it. The bedstead itself, of white and gold, was richly carved; but it owed its chief value to the fact of its having once belonged to Josephine Beauharnais. Under that canopy the disconsolate empress, and repudiated wife, had sighed through many a sleepless night, mourning the loss of him whom love had been unable to bind; and happily foreseeing with prophetic eye the bitter future reserved to avenge her for his misplaced ambition. An upholsterer carried off this bedstead—figuratively—for something short of £20.

A RUSSIAN WIFE FAIR.—The chief opportunity of seeing native finery is mixed up with a very curious custom observed on White Monday at the summer gardens, when the unmarried girls present themselves for the chance of being selected and sought in marriage by those who are on the look-out for wives. These young people arrange themselves in rows by the sides of the long avenue, attended by their mothers, decked out in their gayest costume, while congregated thousands promenade up and down in dense crowds. The idea realises what we call "love at first sight," and is certainly a novel way of putting the power of Cupid to the test. If any arrow falls, the party introduces himself to the mother, and exchanges addresses, and the matter is negotiated at home. This is confined to the little people—I mean those just above the lower class; but in former times it was common to all ranks.—*Life in Russia.*

Dr. Holland says: "That if persons are always supposing that they are liable to a certain distemper, the nerves will so set on the part that it is very likely to come upon them."

Counting Flooding all his time.
Before dinner, Lord ————, said to the moment of his entry into the room to the whole party, and in French, as he being genuine English—said that his French was execrable. He said that the Russian army into France was a good deal of the great man of the war; of none of those things which a word, but went on, sometimes in English and sometimes in French, gabbling about cookery, and dress, and the like. As he paused for a little, and I said a few words, remarking how a great image may be reduced to the ridiculous and contemptible by bringing the consistent parts into prominent detail, and mentioned the grandeur of the deluge, and the preservation of life in Genesis, and the Paradise Lost, and the ludicrous effect produced by Drayton's description in his *Noah's flood*—

"And now the beasts are cawing from the wood,
As well of ravin, as that which the cuckoo,
The king of beasts his fairy doth suppose,
And to the ark lead—'tis the lioness;
The bull for his—'tis the mule, and the cow,
And to the ark bring on the fair-eyed dove."

Hereupon Lord ———— resumed, and spoke in raptures of a picture which he had lately seen of Noah's Ark, and said the animals were all marching two and two, the little ones first, and that the elephants came in great majesty and filled up the foreground. "Ah! no doubt, my Lord," said Counting, "your elephants, was followed stayed behind to peck up their crumbs." This floored the ambassador for half an hour.—*Coleridge's Table Talk.*

Consensus of Nice People.

Like other things spurious, fastidiousness is often inconsistent with itself; the crassest things are done, the crudest things said by the most fastidious people. Horace Walpole was a proverb of epigrammatic particularity of taste, yet none of the vulgarities whom he vilified had a keener relish for a coarse allusion or a malicious falsehood. Beckford, of Fonthill, demanded that life should be thrice winnowed for his use, but what was his life? Louis XIV. was "too gently nice" in some things, what was he in others? If we observe a person proud of a reputation for fastidiousness, we shall always find that the egotism which is his life will at times lead him to say or do something disgusting. We need expect from such people no delicate, self-sacrifice, no tender watching for others' tastes or needs, no graceful yielding up of privileges in unconsidered trifles, on which wait no "flowing thanks." They may be kind and obliging to a certain extent, but when the service required involves anything disagreeable, anything offensive to the taste on which they pride themselves, we must apply elsewhere. Their fineness of nature siffs common duties, selecting for practice only those which will pass the test; and conscience is not hurt, for unsuspected praise has given her a bribe.

FASTIDIOUSNESS ILLUSTRATED BY A STORY.—Hans Christian Andersen has given us one of his shrewd little stories a point.

There was once a prince of great house and renown who wished to marry a princess. Many persons called themselves princesses had been offering their dignity; but there was always something about the ladies which made him doubtful of the claim to the title. So not being able to satisfy his fastidiousness on this point, he remained for a long time undecided.

One night during a tremendous storm, a young lady came to the door and repeated admittances, saying that she was a real princess. She was in a most pitiable condition—drenched from head to foot, with her hair pouring in torrents from her dishevelled locks, she looked forlorn enough for a beggar. But the prince would not prejudice her; he invited her to spend the night, and in the meantime his mother devised a plan by which to ascertain whether her pretensions were genuine. On the place where the princess was to sleep she put three small peas, and on the top of them twenty mattresses, covering these again with twenty feather beds. Upon this luxurious couch the supposed princess retired to rest, and in the morning she was asked how she had passed the night.

"Oh, most wretchedly!" she replied, "there was something hard in my bed, which distressed me extremely, and has bruised me all over; black and blue."

Then they knew that her pretensions were not false, for none but a real princess could have possessed sufficient delicacy of perception to feel three little peas under twenty mattresses and twenty feather beds.

PERSISTENCE OF AUDUBON.—An incident which happened to two hundred of my original drawings, nearly put a stop to my researches in ornithology. I shall relate it, merely to show how far enthusiasm for by no other name can I call my perseverance—may enable the observer of nature to surmount the most disagreeing difficulties. I left the village of Henderson, in Kentucky, situated on the banks of the Ohio, where I resided for several years, to proceed to Philadelphia on business. I looked at all my drawings before my departure, placed them in charge of a relative, with the injunction to see that no injury should happen to them. My absence was of several months, and when I returned, after having enjoyed the pleasure of home for a few days, I inquired after my box, and what I was pleased to call my treasure. The box was produced and opened; but, reader, feel for me—a part of Norway rats had taken possession of the whole, and they had reared a young family among the gnawed bits of paper, which, but a month previous, represented nearly a thousand inhabitants of the air! The burning heat which instantly rushed through my brain, was too great to be endured, without affecting my whole nervous system. I slept not for several nights, and the days passed like days of oblivion—until the animal powers being recalled into action, I took up my gun, my note book, and my pencils, and went forth to the woods as gaily as if nothing had happened. I felt pleased that I might make better drawings than before. And ere a period not exceeding three years elapsed, my portfolio was again filled.

IDLENESS.—Nine-tenths of the miseries and vices of mankind proceed from idleness; with men